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硕士学位论文

浅析希腊债务危机后德国的软实力以及对欧洲的
领导力

An Analysis of German Soft Power and Leadership in Europe since
the Greek Financial Crisis

Yannick Thiele

指导教师姓名: 李美婷助理教授

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摘要

权力和领导力是国际关系领域中受到广泛讨论的两个概念。本文将主要致分析两个问题。

首先，论文将深入探讨国际关系理论中的权力和领导力这两个概念，着重对软权力和霸权理论进行分析，通过复杂多样的社会学视角来探讨这些问题，并以此为基础深化对德国的权力和领导能力的研究。与二战前相比，德国现在更注重发展经济以及多边主义。当美国重整其全球战略，将其重心放在太平洋和中国之后，许多专家和学者预测德国在欧洲内将会有拥有一个更加强大的领导地位。

其次，本文将会讨论德国是否能够通过其领导手段成功填补欧洲目前的权力真空，并肩负起更多的责任。本文认为，通过研究德国权力及其软实力，可以更加全面、客观地评估德国在欧洲外交政策扮演领导者的可能性。本文将使用相关的案例，如希腊经济危机（第四章），克里米亚冲突（第五章）和难民危机（第六章），来分析德国近年的外交政策。

关键词： 软实力，领导力，欧洲一体化，合法性。

Abstract

Power and leadership are among the most discussed concepts in the research of International Relations. This thesis was developed to analyze two major questions.

The first one deals with concepts of power and leadership inside IR theory, in particular focusing on how soft power and hegemony can be embedded inside the theoretical dialogue and its changing paradigm towards more sociological concepts.

This builds the basis for studying German power and leadership capacities. Germany's abuse of its beneficial position inside Europe made a powerful German state unthinkable after the war and it put its focus on economic development and multilateralism rather than military power. However, since Washington's reorientation towards the Pacific and China, international experts and policy makers expected a bigger German leadership role inside Europe.

The second major task of this thesis is to ask whether or not Germany can fill the European power gap and play a more responsible role by means of leadership. Therefore, German power and in particular soft power will be analyzed with regard to a possible leadership role inside European foreign policy.

The thesis therefore uses case studies, namely the Greek financial crisis (Chapter 4), the Crimea conflict (Chapter 5) and the Refugee crisis (Chapter 6) to study German foreign policy behavior in recent years.

Key words: Soft Power, Leadership, European Integration, Legitimacy.

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1. Introduction

The idea of a united Germany in the centre of Europe was ever since controversial. The contradiction that the country was too big to be balanced by its neighbours, yet too small for hegemony over Europe led to multiple wars since its first unification in 1871. The last war in fact was so devastating that not only Germany was occupied and divided by the winning powers, but also the idea of German leadership became completely absent in the German population and unthinkable for its neighbouring countries. However, the unification of 1990 showed that another German question in fact did not reoccur and the country pursued European integration instead of posing a threat. Yet the gradual reorientation of the USA towards the Asia-Pacific region created another power gap in Europe. The US and a majority of European countries requested Germany to take a bigger share of leadership in Europe, but the country's culture of restraint made such a role unthinkable.

Not until the 2009 European financial crisis pulled multiple countries in economic downturn, Germany seemed to change its behaviour on the world stage.

Research Question

This thesis analyses whether Germany is becoming the main power to shape foreign policies inside the EU. It thus addresses important areas in the field of IR, such as power, European integration, power shifts, legitimacy and the German question. In addition it is of high interest for politicians and academics in Europe and the world to

understand the current political situation in Europe. The research question in this regard asks:

Is German soft power contributing to a capacity building process towards becoming the leading power in the European Union?

To answer this question we have to analyse different parts. First, many foreign policy experts and political leaders in the world demand Germany to lead. As for former Secretary-General of the UN, Kofi Annan:

*"Both Europe and the world expect Germany to shoulder a greater share of the burdens of leadership, collective security and international cooperation."*¹

And Daniel Hamilton, director of the John Hopkins think tank on Transatlantic Relations states:

"I think the assumption Americans have is that Germany should always step up and take responsibility commensurate with its weight in the world."

He sees an expectation gap:

"Americans always expect slightly more from Germany than Germany is willing to give."

It will be of high interest for the answering of the research question, how the German copes with the expectations from outside. Why do foreign policy experts around the world demand a leading role of Germany? Why did Germany not take this role before? What are barriers to build capacities of leadership? It will be essential to take a look at

¹ Federal Foreign Office Review 2014, *Crisis – Order - Europe. On Germanys foreign policy priorities and responsibilities*, 2014. See, http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/EN/AAmt/Review2014/Schlussfolgerungen_node.html (last accessed: 10.02.2016), p. 21.

traditional German foreign policy and how it changes, to answer these questions.

Second, whether categorized as a “limiting pacifist” (*Ulrich Speck*), an “unsuccessful soft power” (*Sir Lawrence Freedman*), a “medium-sized soft power” (*Katzenstein*), a reluctant hegemon (*Economist*) or a “self-constrained republic” (*Stelzenmüller*), many experts claim that German power is rather soft and somehow not tapping its full potential. We have to look what German power is based upon. The country is widely regarded as having soft power. Does this play to its advantage or not?

Finally, we have to analyse whether the soft power can help Germany to fulfil the international expectations on more leadership in Europe and in the world.

Research Methods

Power is one of the basic features of every social interaction. In the modern society power can be found in political debates, economic decisions and social interactions of every kind. It is one of the most discussed terms in the field of International Relations and often pulled up to draw a distinction between political and non-political facts. Without it we couldn't measure political order says Hans J. Morgenthau², but on the other hand “*the concept of political power poses one of the most difficult and controversial problems of political science.*”³ The challenge many scholars agree on is that we cannot refer to power as a measurable variable like scholars of economic

² Morgenthau, Hans J (1955), *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf), page 5.

³ Baldwin, David A. (2013), ‘Power and International Relations’, in Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse and Beth A. Simons (eds.), *Handbook of International Relations* (London: SAGE Publications), p. 273.

sciences can refer to money.⁴

This thesis works with terms of soft power and leadership, which are both strongly interlaced. We won't concentrate on traditional realist or rationalist views on power, but rather try to include social components as well. Power can be found in multiple different forms. We can find compulsory and even threatening power, as well as kind or benign power. Power can root in a variety of origins and shows itself to a different degree every time it's displayed. It can be defined over the capabilities and resources an actor is endowed with or by means of the relationship between two actors and how one influences the other.⁵ In fact, our research question is in a way biased as we deliberately narrow down power theories to the concept of soft power. However, the thesis tries to give a fair portion of attention to different perceptions of power. It furthermore will include theories of leadership and tries to apply soft power on them. We then should find a useful conceptual framework to work with.

Thesis Outline

The thesis follows a qualitative and quantitative research, which is based on case studies and data collection. After the theoretical conceptualisation, part 2 introduces into German foreign policy and power. What are the traditional characteristics of German foreign policy? What are the challenges we have to consider for our analysis? As mentioned above the war affected Germany's neighbouring countries as well as its own population in a long aftermath. For the analyses of a potential German leadership role it

⁴ Ibid., p. 276.

⁵ Nolte, Detlef (2006), 'Power and hierarchies of power in international relations. A concept of analyses for the research on superregional powers', *GIGA working papers*, 29, pp. 5-54.

is essential to outline a short history of German foreign policy and the characteristics of its society from the outset. The second part of Chapter 2 deals with German power in particular. We'll primarily analyse German soft power, as it is the focus of the research question. However, understanding German hard power is essential to distinguish it from soft power as well.

After clarifying what German soft power is composed of, we can apply it to recent cases. Chapter 3 analyses German soft power and leadership in the Greek financial crisis. It argues that a fundamental power shift in favour of Germany took place in Europe during this time and presents different arguments to underline this claim. In this case study soft power seems to be wielded by means of agenda setting rather than attraction. Also the leadership style of Angela Merkel is essential to understand the role of Germany in this case.

Chapter 4 discusses the German role during the Ukraine crisis and here in particular concentrates on the escalating period of the annexation of Crimea and Germany's response towards Russia. The conflict seems of major importance for Europe, as modern Germany for the first time took the leading role in the security policy of a geopolitical conflict. How does this leading role look like? Does soft power contribute to it?

Finally Chapter 5 deals with the most recent and probably most controversial leadership of Germany in Europe – the refugee crisis. While the German public at least in great parts supported the government's position in the first two cases, it is deeply divided with regard to the country's foreign policy during the refugee crisis. If Germany has a great deal of attraction, does it lose attraction in the course of this crisis? Is Germany likely to lose soft power or can its values of peace and its morality give it legitimacy for the long

run? Can it set the agenda again being the first mover with regard to the biggest migration crisis since World War II or does soft power present itself as an improper concept to back leadership in Europe?

2. Power and Leadership in International Relations

2.1 Traditional understandings of power

Early examples of power in international politics go back to ancient times, when political entities first encountered each other in a gradually integrating environment and tried to survive. As their policies and interests were not always concordant with each other, conflicts between them occurred, that were solved by means of military force. Scholars of the school of Realism often refer to power as a material resource and traditionally regard military power as its crucial part.⁶ For John Mearsheimer “a state’s effective power is ultimately a function of its military forces”⁷ as they pose a direct threat to another state’s survival. But he also points out the importance of more latent power resources, such as a large population or economic growth, which can be transferred into military power.⁸ And Hans J. Morgenthau argued that states are “[...] seeking to maximize their power relative to each other, thus producing a “balance of power” or as seeking to produce a balance of power.”⁹

However, power works not only through the material resources actors possess, but in

⁶ Schmidt, Brian C. (2005), ‘Competing Realist Conceptions of Power’, *Millennium - Journal of International Studies*, 23 (3), pp. 523-549.

⁷ Mearsheimer, John J. (2001), *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (New York: W.W. Norton), p. 55.

⁸ Ibid., p. 24.

⁹ Baldwin, David A. (2013), ‘Power and International Relations’, p. 274.

the direct interaction between them. The relational power approach criticised that in the balance of power theory states' material powers would be counted up and then put in relation to each other, thereby neglecting the causal relations between the actors.¹⁰

Hence, some scholars prefer causal explanations of power, meaning that the actions of actor A change the actions of actor B to some extent. Harvard University professor Joseph Nye puts it:

*"[...] power is the ability to affect the outcomes you want, and if necessary, to change the behavior of others to make this happen."*¹¹

This explanation reduces power resources to being resources and not the exclusive explanation for the concept. Resources should be viewed and judged on their context. For example for creating a balance of power, Prussia after the Napoleonic Wars seized territories of France in which the population had rather little ties with German culture or language. In the early 19th century, this created a balance of power through shifts in territory and population. With the upcoming nationalism in the mid-19th century people in respective regions scrutinized the German rule. It became evident, that sheer numbers of population can't compensate for peoples' identity. In today's globalized world, countless different contexts exist and make a judgement of power resources or an evaluation even more complex.¹²

Princeton University professor David Baldwin claims that a multidimensional approach to power takes into account multiple contexts and forms of power. His dimensions are:

¹⁰ Baldwin, David A. (2013), 'Power and International Relations', p. 274.

¹¹ Nye, Joseph (2002), *The Paradox of American Power. Why the world's only superpower can't go it alone* (New York: Oxford University Press), p. 4.

¹² Nye, Joseph (2004), *Soft Power. The means to success in world politics* (New York: Public Affairs), pages 3-5.

- 1.) Scope: The power of an actor A varies from one issue to the other.
- 2.) Domain: How many actors B are subjected to the influence of actor A?
- 3.) Weight: How high is the probability that actor A can influence actor B's behavior?
- 4.) Costs: The costs of A to influence B and vice versa.
- 5.) Means: There are different means of influence, namely:
 - a. Symbolic means: normative symbols and the provision of information. This also includes arguments of identity, interests and the state of the world as well as propaganda and framing.
 - b. Economic means: Lower or higher the degree of trade with a country.
 - c. Military means.
 - d. Diplomatic means.¹³

It is an attempt to integrate varying understanding of power and thereby give a better picture, that power is not based on resources or relations, but on multiple factors.

2.2 Constructivist and socio-cultural concepts of power

Michael Barnett and Raymond Duval extended the concept of power by social components:

"Power is the production, in and through social relations, of effects that shape the

¹³ Baldwin, David A. (2013), 'Power and International Relations', pages 275-276.

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